Is Russia Moving Toward War With China? P. 2

Why So Many Bombings Unsolved? Because Justice Dept. Nullified The Law

Senator Keating of New York the other day suggested an on the spot Senate inquiry in Birmingham to determine why "not one" of 21 racial bombings there had been solved "despite adoption of a Federal anti-bombing statute in 1960." He can get the answer closer home by questioning Justice Department officials. He will find that for two years after the law was passed, it continued to hold that bombings were primarily a local matter.

This is the hitherto unpublished story: That the Act was being nullified first became apparent after Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, wired the Department on Jan. 7, 1962, asking for action in three church bombings. The response, on Jan. 25, from Bourke Marshall, head of the civil rights division, was that "in view of specific provisions contained in the (1960) Act, matters of this kind fall within the primary jurisdiction of local law enforcement agencies."

Mr. Mitchell replied that the wording and intent of the Act was exactly to the contrary. This elicited a reply dated March 1, 1962, in which Mr. Marshall said, "I think I should make it clear that the policy of the Department is not to defer to local authorities in all cases" and "It will be my practice to initiate Federal investigation in appropriate circumstances."

Just what the appropriate circumstances are was not spelled out but the Department was still moving on reluctant feet when the NAACP earlier this year asked it to investigate the bombing of Medgar Evars' home shortly before he was killed. The response was that since the bombing was done by Molotov cocktail, it did not come within the terms of the act. The NAACP pointed out that the Act defined as explosive any "mixture" that could be detonated by "concussion." But by then Evers had been killed and the Department therefore classified that bombing as "moot"! This correspondence is available to the Senator whenever he wants to see it.

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

VOL. XI, NO. 19 SEPTEMBER 30, 1963 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

The Wasteland In The White Man's Heart

It's not so much the killings as the lack of contrition. The morning after the Birmingham bombing, the Senate in its expansive fashion filled 35 pages of the *Congressional Record* with remarks on diverse matters before resuming debate on the nuclear test ban treaty. But the speeches on the bombing in Birmingham filled barely a single page. Of 100 ordinarily loquacious Senators, only four felt moved to speak. Javits of New York and Kuchel of California expressed outrage. The Majority Leader, Mansfield, also spoke up, but half his time was devoted to defending J. Edgar Hoover from charges of indifference to racial bombings. His speech was remarkable only for its inane phrasing. "There can be no excuse for an occurrence of that kind," Mansfield said of the bombing, in which four little girls at Sunday school were killed, "under any possible circumstances." Negroes might otherwise have supposed that States rights or the doctrine of interposition or the failure of the Minister that morning to say "sir" to a passing white man might be regarded as a mitigating circumstance. Even so Mansfield's proposition was too radical for his Southern colleagues. Only Fulbright rose to associate himself with Mansfield's remarks and to express condemnation. There was more indignation in the Senate over Nhu's pagoda raids in Saigon.

No National Day of Mourning

If four children had been killed in the bombing of a Berlin church by Communists, the country would be on the verge of war. But when four Senators (Hart, Kuchel, Humphrey and Javits) framed a resolution asking that the Sunday after the Birmingham bombing be set aside as a national day of mourning, they knew their fellow Senators too well even to introduce it. They sent it on to the White House where it was lost in the shuffle. Despite the formal expressions of regret, the sermons, the editorials and the marches, neither white America nor its leadership was really moved. When Martin Luther King and six other Negro leaders finally saw the President four days after the bombing, it was to find that he had already appointed a two-man committee to represent him "personally" in Birmingham, but that both men were white. This hardly set a precedent for bi-racial action. If Mr. Kennedy could take a judge off the Supreme Court to settle a labor dispute, he could have taken one of the country's two Negro judges off the Court of Appeals to dignify a mission of mediation. He might have insisted, for once, after so terrible a crime, on seeing white and Negro leaders together,

(Continued on Page Eight)

Another Fact-Evading Mission

Five months after his inaugural, President Kennedy sent Vice President Johnson to Vietnam on a fact-finding mission, where the latter haled Diem as "the Churchill of today!" Five months later Mr. Kennedy sent General Taylor and Walt W. Rostow. Every few months, the White House sends another fact-finding team to Vietnam. Now it is sending Secretary McNamara and General Taylor. To the future historian, these missions will appear not as efforts to find the facts but to evade them. One fact is that a clique of rich Catholic mandarins can't go on ruling a Buddhist country. Another fact is that you can't go on pouring napalm on villages and poisons on crops, uprooting people and putting them in prison-like compounds, and expect to be liked. A third fact is that you can't stabilize Southeast Asia without coming to terms with its biggest neighbor, China. A talk with Sihanouk in Cambodia, or de Gaulle in Paris, with a view to mediation—this is what the occasion calls for, not another frantic mission to Saigon.

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Rostow's Dayton Speech Rewrites History to Make Germany Our No. 1 Ally

The Test Ban Treaty — Move Toward Peace or Russian War on China?

The violence of Sino-Soviet controversy may cast a different light on the test ban treaty. It may represent Moscow's willingness to sign on the West's terms in order to protect itself in Europe while it prepares for a basic struggle in Asia. The tone of the Soviet press is now worse than that of Stalin's time in the attack on Tito, for it has moved to the most crass propaganda against the Chinese people themselves, picturing them as ill-mannered barbarians, urinating on Russian railroad platforms and spitting on the floor of the Lenin Institute. This has the smell of emotional preparation for war.* It may well be that huge Russian wheat purchases reflect this as much as the poor crops all over Europe (too wet in Western, too dry in Eastern Europe).

The Test of Co-Existence

Moscow rightly rebukes Peking for its border disputes with India but itself engages in equally irresponsible bitterness with Peking over the poorly marked Asian borders between them. The detente with the West may merely be a byproduct of Khrushchev's personal struggle with Mao. It would be a disaster for a large section of mankind if the two Communist giants were to engage in war, and the peace movement ought to keep clear of the propagandistic exaggerations of both sides and stir up pressure for mediation. Moscow is right in its co-existence line, but the test of that line is its willingness to co-exist with China, as the test of ours is a willingness to co-exist with Cuba.

The possibility that we are the victims of euphoria in the atmosphere created by the test ban treaty is strengthened by the President's speech to the United Nations. His prose has improved, but the substance is vague. Indeed one suspects that the joint moon proposal was put in at the last moment because without it there would be nothing concrete in the speech "to make a headline." The failure of the Russians to mention it in their press seems to indicate that their military like ours are fearful of giving away military secrets in such an enterprise. Even better than a Russo-American agreement to go to the moon arm-in-arm would be a Russo-American agreement to give up this billion dollar boondoggle altogether and spend the money jointly here on earth for less favored peoples.

In our opinion, U.S. policy continues to move along a hard line. The clearest indication of its basic direction may be found in W. W. Rostow's speech at Dayton, Ohio, Sept. 18 on "The Role of Germany in the Evolution of World Politics." This marks a new stage in the rewriting of history to make Germany our No. 1 ally in Europe. We must be, says this key presidential adviser, not only Germany's "reliable ally" but its "true partner." This means that "the problems posed for us by negotiations with Moscow looking towards control of atomic weapons touch vital interests of each nation of the Atlantic community, which require resolution within the family." That means a German veto. In the meantime, over British objections, we go ahead with our plans for a nuclear Polaris fleet in which the Germans will play a major role. The line still is to stand fast in the hope that the Russians will some day throw in the sponge and give up Eastern Germany. Serious trouble with China might speed that day. *Sept. 23*

Brazil Suggests The Next Step

In opening general debate at the United Nations 18th session, Brazil's de Araujo Castro recalled that his country first suggested the idea of a limited nuclear test ban and proposed the next step—a treaty which would forbid underground tests above the limit of detectability, to be revised downward as the capacity for detection improved. This proposal was ignored by the press but ought to be taken up by peace organizations. Attention should also be focussed on Brazil's renewed call for "a unanimous agreement bringing into effect the de-nuclearization of Latin America." The State Dept. is cool to this because it fears the precedent for Central Europe and because "unanimous" would include Cuba. Also attention worthy: Brazil's suggestion that an agreement to divert a mere 1 percent of world arms expenditures to a UN Capital Development Fund would give it $1,200,000,000 a year.

*** There is the smell of coming war, too, in the appearance of Life Magazine Sept. 13 with a special issue on Russia, portraying not only Khrushchev but Malinovski and Suslov as fine fellows while Time of the same date has a cover story on China as "The Arrogant Outcast." Does Luce's sudden pro-Russianism reflect hope of an attack on China?**

U.S. Officials Begin to Feed Out A Milder Line Toward Communist China

Some warmer currents in the icy relations between Washington and Peking deserve notice. For the first time in the long and frozen-faced series of meetings between the U.S. and Chinese Ambassadors in Warsaw, news and camera men were allowed in (AP in Washington Post, Sept. 12) to record an exchange of curt bows and half smiles when the 119th session opened Sept. 11.

U.S. sources have been feeding out a milder line toward Communist China in talks with newsmen. Bernard Gwertzman, Soviet specialist of the Washington Star reported Sept. 12 State Dept. officials were worried lest the (in their opinion, incorrect) Russian description of the Chinese leaders as "nuclear madmen" take so strong a hold on U.S. opinion as to "inhibit future U.S. policy toward the Chinese." The Wall St. Journal Sept. 17 carried a similar Washington article saying that Mao's bark was worse than his bite and reporting "U.S. analysts" also disputed Indian charges of an aggressive border buildup. The same note was struck by Joseph Kraft in his Washington Star column Sept. 20, concluding that "in time it might prove fruitful to deal with Peking on Southeast Asia, where Soviet influence has evaporated."

Whether such talk had something to do with the visit here by Chiang's son is not known but several days later, Col. Ray Cromley, with good Pentagon connections, reported (Washington Daily News, Sept. 19) that there was a split between Chiang and Kennedy. He said the former wants to step up mainland raids while the latter wants to cut back military aid and make Formosa a showplace "of what free enterprise can accomplish."

Against this background the advocacy by U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Nieland of trade with mainland China no longer seems merely the voice of a business maverick. The outlines of a wiser policy are faintly visible.

We have always believed that Chinese extremism in part reflected U.S. imposed outlawry.

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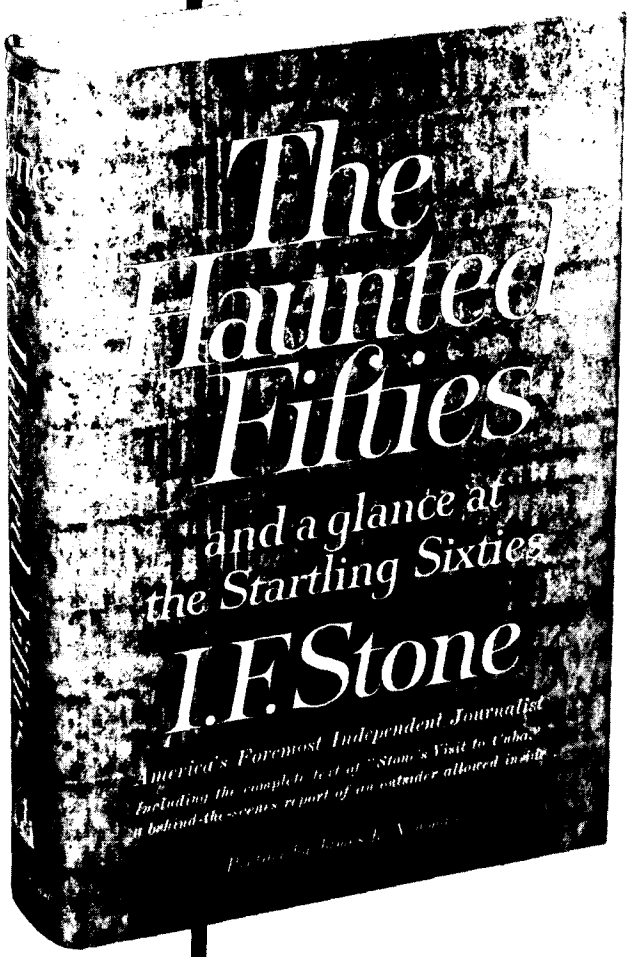

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—from the Preface by James R. Newman

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From The Haunted Fifties

"The two contenders for mastery of the earth, the 'communistic' Russians and the 'capitalistic' Americans have this in common. Their rulers equally distrust the 'intellectual.' The intellectual, like a special breed in a hive, is well-fed so long as he devotes himself to the tasks allotted him by his masters: the fabrication of new weapons, the inculcation of ideas to keep the human herd submissive. But let him begin to speak his mind and he gets into trouble. At the least, he may find himself deprived of livelihood; at the worst, he may be imprisoned as 'subversive' or 'counter-revolutionary.' The intellectual on both sides is prized and yet suspect, favored but subjected."

"What is missing from the debate is easily discernible. The Negro has his champion in the Senate, but no spokesman. Amid the sterile legalisms and the courtly compliments what is missing are the realities only a Negro can know and only a Negro Senator could express. The Senate appears not merely as an exclusive club but as a white man's club in which a younger group faces up reluctantly to the task of enacting regulations painful to some of its oldest members. Even through the speeches of those most devoted to the Negro's cause there runs a tone of supplication, apology and tenderness. Rarely has so much tact been expended on the oppressor by those who are supposed to be rescuing the oppressed."

"These bargaining sessions have the spurious ferocity of a wrestling match, in which the mountainous contenders make up by groan and grimace for the essential unreality of the contest. The lords of industry look forward eagerly to being pinned to the mat. Trade unionism has become their profit escalator. Every extra dollar in wages gives them an excuse for several dollars extra in price increases."

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The Moral Sore of Our Cuban Policy Tainted JFK's Appearance at the UN

On Students, The Right to Travel and the Right to Disagree

A week after the leaders of the student trip to Cuba went before the Un-American Committee, the *Free Cuba News* here put out a special report on the visit. It said a student group in Cuba succeeded in smuggling a letter into the men's room of the Havana Riviera while the Americans were there and then phoned their leader, Levi Laub, to tell him where it was hidden.

If the American students have a sense of humor, this letter must strike a sympathetic chord. For the Cubans complained that they had "no right to unrestricted travel abroad" and could not speak freely at home. Maybe they and the Americans ought to form a joint committee.

Hardly Pure Essence of 1776

For the leaders of the American students have been taken before a grand jury in New York. Their indictment is sought for breaking the travel ban. Our dissident student leaders are also charged—as no doubt their opposite number are in Cuba when they speak up—of being "foreign agents." Apparently—to echo the President's own words to the UN—Cuba is not the only country where "the fruits of the revolution" have been "falsely betrayed from within." Denial of freedom to travel and denial of freedom to disagree are not exactly the pure essence of 1776.

Cuba can defend its restrictions as a necessity so long as the CIA infiltrates the country and provides planes and bombs for attacks from Nicaragua. But our restrictions are a moral sore. Our policy toward Cuba taints all our pretensions, as it did Mr. Kennedy's appearance before the United Nations. Didn't his advisers realize that when he warned against "chronic disputes" and said "the badge of responsibility in the modern world is a willingness to seek peaceful solutions," many at the UN would ask—under cover of the applause—"Well, what about Cuba?"

Even as we relax elsewhere, the noose on Cuba is being tightened. Secretary Rusk in a TV interview on *Issues and Answers* Sept. 15 said that while Russian troops were being moved out of Cuba "the problem is not so much (military) units now as technicians and advisers." Our attempt to strangle Cuba undercuts those Marxists, from Khrushchev down, who stake their future, in the titanic Sino-Soviet split, on a declaration of faith in America's good intentions.

It is natural under the circumstances that the few pathetic and hounded pro-Castro organizations in this country have tended to be under pro-Chinese line leadership. This is true of the student trip to Cuba which was organized and led by a small ousted pro-Peking offshoot of the U.S. Communist Party, the so-called Progressive Labor Movement. Its tactics before the Un-American Committee made good reading in Peking but bad politics in America. It gave the Committee a chance to associate peace with Cuba and freedom of travel with pictures of screaming beatniks being hauled out by the police.

The police *were* brutal. The Committee *is* an abomination. But I don't want to carry coals to Newcastle. I want to talk sense in the bosom of the family. The student leaders had a chance to make fools of the Committee; its oafish informer had nothing really damaging to say about them or the trip. They could easily have turned the scales of opinion against the Committee as did Women's Strike for Peace. They chose instead to make an old-fashioned *agitprop* demonstration in the fashion set by Moscow in the early 30's.

The PLMers really believe peace with Cuba is impossible until capitalism is overthrown in America. Neither Cuba nor the rest of the world can wait that long. The same crowd is organizing a new trip to Cuba. We hope more sensible students will wrest leadership from them. The cause of peace and travel deserves advocates with better sense.

Why I Withdrew from The New York Meeting

"After listening Thursday night in Washington to a panel discussion by the students just back from Cuba, I felt that if I went on as moderator with such a panel Sunday at Town Hall in New York I would be compelled either to engage in prolonged argument with the participants or appear to acquiesce in their views. These views seem to me a mixture of naivete, Negro nationalist distortions (understandable enough in the light of the Negro's anguish but still distortions) and out-of-this-world leftism. I defend their right to speak I believe they performed a public service in breaking the travel ban. I think it a joke at the expense of our country when a Congressional committee regards it as un-American to fight for freedom of travel. This is why, before realizing the narrow range of opinion represented, I originally accepted the invitation to be their moderator. But I do not wish to be identified with what I regard as hysterical exaggerations hurtful to an honorable settlement between the United States and Castro's Cuba." —*Statement issued Sept. 13.*

Business Week, After On-The-Spot Survey, Finds Economic Upturn in Cuba

"Los Angeles, Sept. 20 (AP)—A high State Dept. official said today that an unrelenting squeeze from the U.S. isolation policy and massive Castro mismanagement has made a shambles of Cuba's once-healthy economy. Edwin M. Martin, Ass't Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, gave this assessment in a speech on Cuba and Communism in Latin America before the World Affairs Council."

—*Washington Post, Sept. 21.*

"Far from being in a state of collapse, Cuba's Soviet-supported economy now is showing signs of an upswing. . . . This is the conclusion that was reached by a Business Week reporter after a tour of the island. . . .

"Cuba boasts these achievements on the industrial front: About 25 light industry plants have been put into operation . . . manufacturing everything from picks and shovels to sulphuric acid. . . . Despite a U.S. embargo on spare parts, the Cubans have managed to keep in operation oil refineries seized from Americans and the Nicaro nickel plant. . . . With Japanese and Soviet help, Cuba is rapidly expanding its commercial fishing industry. . . .

"This progress refutes any notion that Cuba's economic situation might generate all-out opposition to the Castro regime. There are still shortages of food and many consumer items, particularly in the cities. But no one is starving in Cuba, and many Cubans—including students and peasants who form the backbone of Castro's support—are eating better than ever."

—*Business Week, Sept. 14.*

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For Black Birmingham, It's Martial Law With Insult and Carbine

(Continued from Page One)

instead of giving a separate audience four days later to a white delegation from Birmingham. It is as if, even in the White House, there are equal but separate facilities.

The Negro leaders, facing the TV cameras outside the Executive Offices that Thursday afternoon, looked like men pursued by despair, afraid that at the slightest misstep they might be trampled under by the hopeless fury in the ranks behind them. The white delegation, the following Monday, had underling written all over it. The President of the United States could take time out to hear white Birmingham, but the Mayor was too busy and sent his secretary. With him were neither the Big Mules nor their Northern capitalist overlords; it is as if they had assigned their office boys to see the President. If what they told the press afterward was a sample of what they told the President, he too must have despaired of finding a solution. Even these supposed moderates could not shake loose from the mythology of white supremacy: if only outside agitators like Martin Luther King would stay away peace and quiet could be restored; many Negroes favored segregation, but apparently were afraid to say so except privately to their white friends. Hire a Negro policeman? That was a "profoundly difficult," "almost impossible," problem. Just why was never explained; perhaps Negroes do not look good in blue, with brass buttons.

Our Ancient Double Standard

Four centuries of white supremacy have left their indelible mark in the double standard we whites instinctively apply to race relations. The Attorney General, rejecting a Negro appeal for Federal troops, said hearts could not be changed by bayonets. But few stop to think that the alternative is to leave the Negro community of Birmingham to the bayonets of the State troopers. Gene Grove in the *New York Post* Sept. 20 vividly pictured how the Negro community is ruled. When one reporter approached Col. Al Lingo of the State police "with a question, the only reply was a shotgun in the belly. Wednesday night the troopers beat an aged man in the Negro district of East Thomas and a young boy in the Negro district of Parker Heights, both for failing to move off the street fast enough. Yesterday morning they rode down the street with carbines perking from every window, shouting at Negroes sitting on their porches to 'get back in the house, niggers, get your ass the hell off the street'." The Mayor's Secretary looked surprised when a reporter asked him if he thought the manners of the State troops toward the Negroes were not provocative. He found no fault with it. Such ways and language, after all, are accepted institutions in the South, the way "peace and quiet" have been preserved.

When I was in Germany, I felt the empty wasteland of the German heart. I feel the same way about the hearts of my fellow white men in America, where the Negro is concerned. The good people there as here are in the minority and weak. Just as many Germans feel it was somehow the fault of the Jews that they got themselves cremated, so many whites here North and South, feel that the bombing wouldn't have happened if the Negroes weren't so pushy. As a white housewife in a Birmingham supermarket told Robert Baker of the *Washington Post* (Sept. 19), it was "terrible" but "that's what they get for trying to force their way where they're not wanted." Worse than the bombing is this inhuman chill.

A Problem in Race Mixing

When the civil defense bill passed the House the other day, a first term Republican Congressman from Louisville, Ky., a Mr. Gene Snyder, tried to attach an anti-discrimination amendment to it. His amendment would have denied funds to any State or institution which failed to give "satisfactory assurances" that no one would be excluded from fallout shelters "because of race, color or creed." He was defeated 93 to 53. This will be reassuring to the South. Whatever happens to the country in a nuclear holocaust, everything possible is being done to keep white supremacy intact. The problem, however, may prove complex. Going in, it will be easy to solve; separate entrances, plainly marked, may be provided for white and colored. But afterward—can anyone be sure of ever sorting them out?

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